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22 April 1980

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 9/80)



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USSR REPORT
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INTERNATIONAL

NEW BOOK: COUNTRIES LIBERATED IN THE SEVENTIES

Moscow OSVOBODIVSHIYESYA STRANY V 70-YE GODY in Russian 1979 signed to press
11 May 79 pp 1-21, 156-160

[Annotation, Table of Contents, Introduction, Chapter 1 and Conclusion from
book by Karen Nersosovich Brutents, deputy chief of the International De-
partment of the CPSU Central Committee, Politizdat, 160 pages, 42,000 copies]

Annotation

[Text] Prof K.N. Brutents, doctor of historical sciences, describes in his
work the most important problems of life in the liberated countries in the
present period, the political, social and economic changes taking place in
them, their growing role in world politics and changes in the forms of neo-
colonialism. Considerable attention is devoted to the growing, many-sided
cooperation between the Soviet Union and the young independent states, and
aid and support given by the USSR to the national-liberation movement of
the peoples.

The work is intended for scientific and party personnel, lecturers, instruc-
tors and students, propagandists, students in the party-education system
and all persons interested in the problems of contemporary international life
and the national-liberation movement.

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Introduction

"Liberated countries," "developing countries"--these terms, these concepts came into existence and became widespread in the political and diplomatic lexicon and in the scientific literature of the postwar decades. They disclose the profound changes and complex processes that have taken place and are taking place in countries of the former colonial and semicolonial "periphery" of imperialism. The rise of these concepts express--not quite adequately--the need to show in the contemporary social-political vocabulary the specific nature of these countries--both in the sense of their break with the colonial and semicolonial past and in connection with the tasks of the historical period of development they are going through.

The term "liberated countries" clearly designates the chief feature of the corresponding countries which determines all their other features--the fact that these countries have acquired state independence and have been liberated from their colonial, semicolonial and dependent position as a result of changes in the relation of class forces on the world scale and breakup of the colonial system of imperialism. But it does not give as clear a picture of the stage and character of the development of countries, which we have in mind, just as their liberation is far from completed.

As for the term "developing countries," its conditional character is quite obvious. On this earth there are no countries that would not be developing; at the same time the most tempestuously and actively developing countries are the socialist ones.

Another consideration, however, is important: behind all this is an objective reality--a large group of countries with important similar and close-linked features. We mean countries which:

in the past were in a colonial or semicolonial dependence on imperialism;
are backward both in an economic and social sense;

are included in international capitalist division of labor and take part in it in an unequal, subordinate and exploited position;

serve as an object of neocolonialist policy of imperialism;

are undergoing a transitional period of overcoming precapitalist attitudes and establishing of social-economic and spiritual attitudes of a new social formation of the nation and national institutes;

manifest in their social development an objectively conditioned strong national-liberation, antiimperialist tendency;

participate, with certain exceptions, in the nonalignment movement or support its platform.

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Naturally, the undoubted common character of these important political and social-economic features does not cancel the tremendous diversity of the liberated countries. And to the degree that it is important to see traits of similarity, it is necessary to take into consideration the diversity of these countries, to recognize that there are tens and tens of countries and peoples with the most varied political, social and economic conditions, concrete levels of development, national characteristics and cultural traditions, i.e., actually, a tremendous conglomeration of diverse social manifestations. For these reasons Marxism-Leninism has rejected and continues to reject the idea of the former colonial and semicolonial world as a single whole and has stressed and continues to stress the nonscientific character of all claims to "special" ways and theory of development for it. In addition, changes in the life of the liberated countries, inequality of development of a national antiimperialist and class struggle point to the fact that the world of these countries is becoming increasingly diversified.

Liberated countries today constitute about two-thirds of all states on the planet. It is understandable that their course in internal and international affairs exerts a marked and growing influence on world politics and on world development as a whole. Taking this into consideration, major interest is presented by the changes in the internal and international position of the liberated countries that took place in the 70's and also the changes caused by them in neocolonialist policy. These changes were the subject of deep analysis in the Summary Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th party congress, in other documents of the CPSU, and the fraternal communist and workers parties, in the report of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the joint triumphal meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in a number of speeches of L.I. Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders.

At the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev characterized the political course of the liberated countries as follows: "It can be definitely said concerning most of them that they are with increasing energy upholding in opposition to imperialism their political and economic rights, trying to strengthen their independence and to raise the level of social-economic and cultural development of their peoples."¹ This thesis serves as an initial reference point and determines the approach to a scientific analysis of the problems of these countries.

¹ "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress]. Moscow, 1976, p 13.

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1. The Growing Role of Liberated Countries in World Politics

We know that these countries constitute one of the most dynamic, more precisely, changeable areas of the contemporary world. The 70's are perhaps the most important, the most eventful period in the life of the liberated countries from the time of their winning of independence and destruction of the colonial yoke. Major changes have taken place in the liberated countries, which are of important significance both to themselves and to the entire world. It would be legitimate to assume that in this period a change in the interrelations of these countries with the imperialist world has begun which is comparable in its historical importance to the breakup of the colonial empires.

A concentrated expression of the events that took place was first of all the growth of the role of liberated countries in world development as noted in the documents of the 25th CPSU Congress. Of course, the process of growth of the international influence of these countries encompasses to some degree all of the postwar years. But there can be no doubt that in recent years a qualitatively new position was reached in recent years in this sense. Many facts, both major and minor, attest to this. For example, in October 1973 a number of the leading imperialist states under the pressure of petroleum-producing countries, acting with the support of nonaligned states, were obliged to markedly modify, and not just in words alone, their position in such an important question as the Near-Eastern. Only recently such an event would have been highly improbable.

During these years, under the pressure of the developing countries, the imperialists were forced to recognize, albeit only formally, the necessity of modifying their foisted economic relations and agree to discussion on specially convoked forums of a "new economic order" proposed by these countries (which the imperialists repudiated in the recent past). It can even be said that on the whole the problem of relations with the developing countries in this period has become a central one and has achieved unprecedented acuteness for imperialism.

Finally, the situation has changed in the United Nations Organization, and to such an extent, that representatives of the leading capitalist countries began to loudly complain about the "domination" of the UN by the developing countries and their "mechanical majority" and so on and so forth.

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Regardless of how acute and unexpected such changes might be or seem, they were prepared by developments in the world and in the liberated countries over many years, caused by a whole combination of long-term factors. Of these, international factors should first of all be singled out.

The experience of the postwar years has irrefutably proven that the narrowing of the possibilities of imperialism of foisting its will on the developing countries and expansion of freedom for these countries to conduct an independent policy, including economic policy, is indissolubly connected to change in the alignment of forces on the world arena and to strengthening of the positions of socialism. In the 70's, a new development occurred in this regard; it was so significant that it resulted in a marked change in the whole international climate, in strengthening of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and in relaxation of tension.

The developing countries won in this in two ways. First, growth of the might of socialism meant a bolstering of reliable support for the national-liberation movement. The degree to which the changed alignment of forces in favor of socialism is "working" in favor of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, expanding its possibilities, has been particularly shown by the experience of Vietnam and of Indochina as a whole, where an actual defeat was imposed on the mightiest power of contemporary capitalism. The new situation that has come into existence was in its way demonstrated by the events connected with the oil embargo. Not much imagination is needed to imagine how imperialism would have formerly reacted to such an act. When the embargo was declared, the Western press howled about an attempt at an energy suffocation of the capitalist world, about an "economic Vietnam." As we know, formerly the colonizers at the slightest excuse would have started to move their troops and fleets and would have organized mass carnage. Today things went no further than verbal threats, hints at possible intervention, and a number of capitalist states, as has already been mentioned, were even forced to change their position in the Middle-East question.

Second, relaxation of tension has been of great benefit to the developing countries. It strengthened the practical significance in international relations of the principles of equal rights of states, noninterference in their internal affairs and nonuse of force. Detente and the new international climate limited the ability of imperialism to exert pressure of power on the developing countries and made difficult conditions for their carrying out a policy of diktat and crude interference in the internal affairs of these countries, strengthened international conditions (legal and other) for mutually beneficial and, what is most important, equal political and economic cooperation of which the young states have such a need. These states were ensured greater freedom for foreign-policy actions and for maintaining an anti-imperialist course.

The liberated countries were able to achieve in the 70's under favorable conditions a significant or even a qualitative change in each of the main

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directions of their antiimperialist struggle: against the residues of traditional colonialism; against political neocolonialism and for strengthening of independence and consolidation of anti-imperialist unity of the young states; for economic liberation from imperialism.

In the aforesaid years, a new crippling blow was inflicted on the colonial system. The last colonial empire collapsed, and mankind is on the threshold of completing the historical process of erasing from the face of our planet colonial slavery, that monster born of capitalism. During 1971-1978, eighteen countries acquired independence. At the present time, there are on the earth more than 160 states, and about 100 of them came into existence or acquired national sovereignty as the result of the breakdown of the system of colonial and semicolonial dependence. The position of the last bastions of colonialism and racism has sharply changed. Their walls swayed under the pressure of the closely approaching wave of the liberation struggle. In this struggle, a new stage has started. What are its features?

First of all, the struggle now has reached such a point that patriots, at least in Zimbabwe, have come close to victory. Furthermore, the question here it can be said is not just and even not so much about the prospects of seizure as about what forces would come to power in the countries being liberated. Maneuvering of the imperialist forces has started around this problem; they with the help of so-called internal regulation are trying to foist a new colonialist solution and to place in power people subservient to them. The patriotic forces of Zimbabwe and Namibia, basing themselves on all-round support by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and on the solidarity of progressive African states are working to make sure that victory is not stolen from them at the last moment.

A second feature of the situation is that the present stage of the liberation movement in South Africa is developing under conditions of a qualitative change achieved by liberation forces on the continent as the result of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and especially the victory of the patriots of Mozambique and Angola. The result of this change is expressed not only in a change of the general moral-political atmosphere in this region, not only in the retreat of imperialism but also in the fact that the liberation movement an extensive friendly rear.

Finally, a third feature is that the struggle is developing against the background of the present phase of neocolonial policy. For it as a whole, and as for Africa even more so, a characteristic desire is to "remove" or at least to dampen on the basis of compromise the most "nagging" political problems, which have remained as a heritage of traditional colonialism, connected with the incompleteness of the process of decolonization and significantly influence the attitudes of the imperialist powers to the former colonial and semicolonial world, obstructing their policy aimed at blunting antagonism against developing countries and dampening anti-imperialist tendencies in the policies of these countries.

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Until very recently, the imperialists, including American imperialists, were convinced that it would be many years before the national-liberation struggle in South Africa could assume threatening dimensions. The preceding American administration was charged by its critics from the camp of imperialism with "forgetting" Africa, particularly its South. Now, however, actually from the time of the well-known trip of Kissinger in 1976, there is being observed something in the order of a shift in regard to the questions under discussion, first of all the problem of South Africa. Searches were begun for a solution that would be more or less acceptable to the compromise wing of the nationalists and at the same time one that would ensure retention of the basic positions of imperialism in this region. The new American government is actually continuing this policy of Kissinger, although it, as was shown by the African trips of the U.S. representative to the UN A. Young, is eagerly embarking on a path of verbal radicalism.

As for the Republic of South Africa, only a few years back it gave the appearance of being almost like an oasis of colonial tranquility in seething Africa. But 1976 put an end to this deceptive tranquility. A powerful rise in the liberation struggle took place. Since June 1976, there has been practically no end to popular disturbances in South Africa. Starting as spontaneous demonstrations of student Negro youth in Soweto (a suburb of Johannesburg), they subsequently spread to all the main industrial districts of the country. About half a million persons took part in a general strike held in August-September 1976. This was the biggest demonstration of the African working class in South Africa's entire history. The semilegal African trade unions took a leading role in the organization of strikes. A new wave of popular demonstrations began in September 1977 after Steve Biko, the political leader of the Black Self-Consciousness Movement, was brutally tortured to death in prison.

The racist regime responded to the activation of the popular struggle with increased allocations for the army and police and mass punitive actions. South Africa's 1976/77 budget provided for a 40-percent growth of actual military allocations over the prior fiscal year and a four-fold increase over 1972-73. Since June 1976, as a result of bloody reprisals against the opponents of apartheid, hundreds of people have been killed and thousands wounded.

The racists are attempting to oppose the rise of the people's movement also with measures aimed at an accelerated establishment of a privileged stratum among the African population from among the African bourgeoisie coming into being and also certain circles of clergy and intelligentsia. They are strengthening ties with corrupted tribal leaders.

As a means of "solving" the race problem, a program is forcibly being implemented of creating so-called bantustans (African "states"). It provides for a gradual territorial partitioning of the country in the course of which 87 percent of the land is to go to the European minority; this land is the richest and most developed. The remaining 13 percent are to be divided

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into 10 parts--bantustans--according to the number of the chief African ethnic groups--tribes. Each of these groups is proclaimed a "nation" and receives within the limits of the bantustan assigned it the right to "self-determination and independence." Thus the expropriation of the land of the African population is being combined with the trampling of its national unity. On 26 October 1976, the first South-African bantustan--Transkei--received its independence, which, incidentally, all African states without exception refused to acknowledge. Moreover, this action was declared null and void in the UN. Nonetheless on 6 December 1977, another bantustan--Boputatswan--was declared "independent."

The bantustans are doomed to remain under the colonial economic and political control of the Republic of South Africa. Land hunger and extreme economic backwardness do not permit them either to accommodate or to feed their "citizens". The great part of able-bodied Africans must in the future, as in the present, work in factories, mines and farms in the Republic of South African, only now in the position of foreign workers.

The idea of bantustans was actually made the basis of the Republic of South Africa's policy in regard to Namibia.

Plans for the creation of bantustans were rejected by the patriotic forces of South Africa and all independent Africa. And one does not have to be a prophet to predict that they are doomed to failure. Not without reason the Western press in recent years, not excluding the most reactionary newspapers, candidly discusses the question concerning the fact that not only the final hour is being rung for the racist regime in Salisbury, but the clouds are growing thicker over the rulers of Pretoria. The rulers of South Africa, blindly continuing the present senseless policy, may, of course, delay their collapse, but it would then be stormier and more destructive.

Marked successes have been achieved in the struggle against political neocolonialism. The most striking expression of this was in the collapse of the puppet governments in Indochina. The heroic victory of the Vietnamese people and also of the heroic peoples of Laos and Kampuchea served as a powerful push to speeding up the processes of national and social liberation in other regions of the former colonial and semicolonial world.

This was also manifested in the liquidation of neocolonialist regime in certain African countries, in the shift to an independent policy by a number of states of Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America, in their rejection of unequal treaties and agreements that would assure various privileges to the imperialists and in the closing down of imperialist military bases and removal of foreign troops. An element of the same process is the fading away of certain imperialist military-political blocs and organizations, such as SEATO and CENTO and some others. In other words, the proclaimed independence of the young states is increasingly acquiring a real content. The determination of these states to defend their sovereign rights in relations not only with the former parent states but also with the imperialist

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world as a whole is growing. Such a tendency among the developing countries rests on the support of almost all social strata; moreover, it is developing thanks to their active pressure.

The countries where neocolonialist regimes still exist have not remained on the sidelines in regard to this broad process nor free of the common way of growth of national self-consciousness. Nationalist, anti-imperialist tendencies have manifestly grown stronger in them.

All this taken together means a serious shock to the entire political structure of neocolonialist dependence.

But particularly big changes have been achieved in the struggle against economic neocolonialism. The present period of development of the liberated countries is characterized first of all by an intensive growth in the struggle with imperialism for limitation and elimination of their exploitation of these countries and for the establishment of equal economic relations.

As we know, the documents of the CPSU and other communist and workers parties emphasize that national-liberation revolutions do not end with the gaining of political independence,¹ that a most acute contradiction between political independence and continuing economic dependence and the exploited position of the former enslaved countries inevitably leads to the exacerbation of the conflict between them and imperialism and incite them to struggle.

The developing countries, running into imperialism's stubborn desire not to weaken its grasp, have adopted a number of decisive measures. In addition to this and other factors, the aggravation of social contradictions in the liberated countries is also brought on by their economic difficulties and the increasingly urgent character of such problems as the need of overcoming backwardness and reducing the gap in the level of economic development between them and the industrially developed capitalist states.

A wave of nationalization of the property of foreign companies has passed literally through the entire former colonial and semicolonial "periphery" of imperialism, from Peru to India, from Libya to Madagascar. It affected more than forty countries of Africa, the Arabian East, Asia and Latin America. This aim of nationalization was aimed at the restoration of control of the developing countries over their natural resources. At the same time, this was a big step toward giving a real content to their economic sovereignty and toward assuring freedom of adoption of decisions in accordance with national interests and affecting the economic present or future of these countries.

1. See, for example, "Programma Kommunisticheskoy artii Sovetskogo Soyuza," [Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Moscow, 1976, p. 46.

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Characteristically, this "epidemic" of nationalization touched countries of different social orientations. It encompassed even those which imperialism always and not without reason considered as its clients and allies. It is also noteworthy that the developing countries boldly encroached on the ownership of the large and sometimes the most powerful international monopolies, such as the famed "seven sisters" of Anglo-Dutch and American oil companies.

There is no doubt that the mass nationalization of the property of foreign companies means a major rift in the system of neocolonial exploitation. It has inflicted the most serious blow on the system since its creation by world financial capital. The means of uncontrolled exploitation of the resources of the former colonial and semicolonial world by capitalist monopolies are narrowing increasingly, and this process is irreversible.

For the purpose of counteracting the exploitative policy of the imperialist monopolies and defending their interests, the developing countries have started to create in addition to regional economic associations new organizations of the OPEC type (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) for the exporting of bananas, bauxites, tin and so on.

With growing decisiveness, the liberated countries have started to work for structural changes in their economic relations with the imperialist world, actually raising the question of their basic restructuring and affirmation in them of the principles of equality. They demanded the right of a voice in the solution of important international trade and monetary financial questions, which impinge on the interests of these countries but were formerly decided upon by the imperialists without their participation.

At a number of conferences and meetings, the developing countries formulated and developed their demands in the form of a platform calling for the establishment of a "new economic order" free of inequality and exploitation. On the initiative of the nonaligned countries the 6th Special Session of the UN General Assembly was convoked (April-May 1974) where a "Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" and a "Program of Action Relative to the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" were adopted. In the course of January-February 1976, a conference of developing countries was held in Manila; it adopted the "Manila Declaration and Program of Action." The developing countries again energetically defended their positions at the 4th session of the UN conference on trade and development in Nairobi (May 1976) and at the 32nd (1977) and 33rd (1978) sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, and so on.

Of course, the struggle with economic neocolonialism had proceeded earlier and in this connection, it was frequently possible to obtain concessions from the imperialists. But also this occurred as it were within the framework of the existing neocolonial structure and did not inflict any substantial damage on neocolonialism as a world system of exploitation based on the unequal economic position of the participants of international capitalist

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division of labor. Now for the first time the question has been practically raised of liquidation of this structure, of changing the totality of economic relations between imperialism and the developing countries and of breaking up the various forms of their economic dependence--both of those remaining from the colonial past and those foisted on by neocolonialism. From isolated statements against individual monopolies and individual forms of imperialist exploitation, the developing countries have turned to outright actions against economic neocolonialism as a whole.

The combined result of all these blows on the economic and political structure of neocolonialism was its general upheaval. In point of fact, this was the beginning of neocolonialism's crisis. Such a course of events is capable of exerting a significant influence on capitalism's economy and on world economic ties. It is of important political significance.

The real force of the demands of the developing countries comes first of all from their combined defense of their interests and growing solidarity in the face of imperialism. This constitutes one of the most significant features of international relations in the past period. The attempts undertaken by the imperialists at division, which counted on the nonhomogeneity of the developing countries (in regard to size and geographic location, natural resources, social orientation, extent of real independence and so forth) and on the varying effect on them of the energy crisis, for all practical purposes failed. This failure brought much confusion to the world of capitalism.

The Western press was puzzled why the developing countries supported OPEC. The rise in petroleum prices has brought financial benefits only to a small number of countries--those which export oil. For all the other developing countries, it meant big increases in expenditures of foreign exchange for fuel imports. Actually, the cost of oil imports to these countries after a four-time price increase in 1973-1974 increased from 4.5 billion dollars in 1972 to 20.4 billion dollars in 1975, including from 234 million to 1,355 million dollars for India, from 370 million to 2,732 million dollars for Brazil, from 22 million to 322 million dollars for Pakistan and so on.¹ The share of oil in the total cost of the imports of the developing countries that are not part of OPEC rose from 7.7 percent in 1972 to 15.3 percent in 1975.² This was one of the significant reasons for the sharp growth in the balance of payments of these countries (for current items)--from 12.2 billion dollars in 1972 to 40.5 billion dollars in 1975. In 1976 and 1977, it amounted to, respectively, 29.9 billion and 22.6 billion dollars.³

1. UNCTAD, Doc. TD/B/685/Add. 1; TD/AC2/10/Add. 1, 29 Dec 1977, p 54.

2. Computed on the basis of above given data and indicators of cost of imports of developing countries not exporting oil. UNCTAD, Doc. TD/B/665/Add. 1 (Part II), 25 Jul 1977, p 43.

3. UNCTAD, Handbook of International Trade And Development Statistics, Supplement, 1977. New York, 1978, p 178; UNCTAD, Doc. TD/B.712/Add. 1, 17 Aug 1978, p 9.

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Table 1. Actual Allocations of OPEC Member-Countries to Developing Countries and Multilateral Institutions (in millions of dollars)

	1973	1974	1975	1976
Total	1,591	7,561	11,457	8,978
Including:				
at reduced rates	1,145	3,504	5,473	5,239
at non-reduced rates	446	4,057	5,984	3,739

Source: UNCTAD, Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics. Supplement 1977, p 210.

At the same time, for 17 developing countries exporting petroleum, the positive balance increased from 0.2 billion dollars in 1972 to 37.9 billion dollars in 1975 and to 44.1 billion dollars in 1976; in 1977, it amounted to 31 billion dollars.¹ It is noteworthy that income per capita in Kuwait (12,060 dollars in 1975), exceeded 1.7-fold the corresponding indicator for the United States and 1.4-fold for Sweden and Switzerland.²

"Diplomats of the great powers," the French journal NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR wrote in November 1976, "relied on this hidden antagonism to break the 'front' of the third world at the time of such wide-ranging international conferences as UNCTAD, sessions of UN specialized organizations (International Monetary Fund, International Bank of Reconstruction and Development) or the North-South Conference. But these plans went awry."³

Both the press and officials of the West daub in this connection the behavior of the development countries as a genuine "riddle," an "anomaly." How is this "anomaly" to be explained? Of course, not, as asserted by certain bourgeois investigators, by the fact that the oil-producing states are providing certain assistance through loans to developing countries that are poor in energy resources. The sum total of these loans is significantly less than the losses of the aforesaid countries connected with energy problems.

The bourgeois press suggests something else, which is closer to the truth: the "poor" countries look upon rising oil prices as the prelude to a much broader review of economic relations with imperialism, hoping that the

1. UNCTAD, Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics. Supplement 1977, p 178; UNCTAD, Doc. TD/b/712/Add. 1, 17 Aug 1978, p 9.

2. UNCTAD, Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics, op cit, pp 227, 230.

3. NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, 22 Nov 1976.

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oil-producing states, figuratively speaking, make a breach into which all the developing countries would then "enter." In any case, all this again confirms the importance of the national antiimperialist, anticolonialist factor in the political course of the developing countries.

Thanks to the growing solidarity based on anticolonialism and antiimperialism, the nonalignment movement has increased. Its voice is being more markedly heard in discussions on important international questions--both political and economic. The nonaligned countries have become manifestly more actively in the UN and other international organizations.

Statements of the liberated countries have acquired special weight against the dynamic background of the raw-material problem in contemporary world-economic ties and the unprecedented dependence in which the economies of the imperialist states have found themselves in regard to oil and other kinds of raw materials. The more or less defined tendency displayed in the first postwar decade in a reduction of the role of natural raw-material resources in connection with the increased production of synthetic substitutes has been replaced in the 70's by a reverse process. As a result, the role of the developing countries has grown because of their possession of tremendous natural resources, serving as a source of vitally important types of raw materials for the leading capitalist states, first of all those relating to energy. Even the United States, which has large deposits of oil, now imports about 40 percent of the petroleum it uses.¹

The share of the developing countries in world exports of mineral and agricultural raw materials in terms of 24 of the most important positions exceeds 50 percent and in regard to 12 of them--as much as 80 percent.

The oil embargo has demonstrated that the liberated countries are capable of using this factor in their political and economic interests. Moreover, in connection with the rising prices of oil and some other types of raw materials, some of the countries, particularly the oil-producing ones, have become possessors of large monetary reserves.

1. In the book "Raw Materials and Foreign Policy," prepared by the American International Economic Studies Institute, it states that by the middle of the 70's the United States will change from a net exporter of raw materials to a net importer. Its dependence has sharply increased on imports of iron, zinc, aluminum and especially petroleum. In 1976, the United States imported 100 percent of used columbium and strontium, 99 percent of manganese, 98 percent of cobalt, 95 percent of bauxites and so forth. ("Raw Materials and Foreign Policy," Washington, International Economic Studies Institute, 1976, pp 9, 12, 82.)

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According to data of the American Morgan Guaranty Trust and Company, the net sum of foreign assets of OPEC member-countries had increased by the end of 1977 to 155 billion dollars. In 1978 It increased still more.

Table 2. Net Sum of Foreign Assets of OPEC Member-Countries
(in billions of dollars at year's end)

Country	1976 (actual)	1977 (est.)	1978 (pred.)
Saudi Arabia	56	68	77
Kuwait	25	31	38
United Arab Emirates (UAE)	12	16	21
Qatar	4	5	5
Iran	18	22	25
Venezuela	9	10	10
Libya	6	8	9
Iraq	5	7	8
Nigeria	5	3	1
Ecuador	--	-1	-1
Gabon	-1	-1	-2
Algeria	-3	-4	-6
Indonesia	-9	-9	-10
Total	126	155	178

The figures with a (minus) sign designate an unfavorable balance, that is, the existence for a country of foreign indebtedness for the corresponding sum.

Source: PETROLEUM ECONOMIST, Jan 1978, p 7.

Finally, it must be mentioned that the developing countries have already accumulated valuable political experience, including in international affairs. Over the course of a number of years, despite the proclaimed independence of these countries, despite their entry into international life as its sovereign participants, the young states to one degree or another were frequently dominated by a lack of confidence, with the "psychology of dependence" still prevailing among them. Today, as the result of a quarter of a century of independent existence, the various "complexes" of this kind have largely been overcome in regard to their former rulers; a consolidation of many of these states has taken place, the national self-consciousness of the peoples and the influence of patriotic groups have grown immeasurably and to a large diplomatic cadres have been created able to defend the national interests.

Such are the chief factors that have led to a significant growth of the role of the liberated countries in world policy. Our party, faithful to its principled Leninist internationalist course, has invariably supported

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Congress. It is historically inevitable, irreversible and progressive in its nature. This process heralds not only the restoration of historical justice, a return to the formerly enslaved countries of the rights and means of entering international relations as sovereign entities, which was deprived by the colonizers and imperialism. It expands in a real way the prerequisites for active participation by the peoples of these countries in world social progress, in the struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence and relaxation of tension and for the establishment of equal economic and political relations.

This process has already led to the further exacerbation of contradictions between imperialism and the developing countries in regard to a number of important questions. It is contributing to a democratic reorganization of international relations and overcoming of elements of discrimination and diktat and diminishes the influence of imperialism in these relations.

But it is necessary to take into consideration that the process of increasing the role of the developing countries in peaceful development is not proceeding smoothly. It is characterized by its own complexities and even zigzags. And this is not solely because of the direct opposition, which continues to be exerted by the imperialists despite their honeyed declarations addressed to the developing countries. It can grow successfully only on its own natural basis, which is anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist. At the same time the imperialists and their Beijing allies, using the nationalist positions of the ruling circles of many of the liberated countries, are attempting to undermine this process through its circumvention. They try to stimulate tendencies in it directed against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, tendencies which contradict this process and diverge from its main flow. A negative role is played here by those figures of the former colonial and dependent countries who want to orient this process into an exclusively nationalist direction and plan the creation of a new political-economic bloc that is "equally removed" both from imperialism and from socialism.

It is possible to proceed from the fact that the process of increasing the role of the developing countries will be in coming years the object of an acute struggle between the forces of progress and reaction and one of the important problems of international relations.

Conclusion

The prospects of the developing countries are of outstanding significance for world social progress. Despite the deep traces of colonialism and awkwardness still to found in their political, economic and spiritual life, these countries in the time of their independent existence have progressed far from their former colonial period. They are separated from this period in point of fact by a whole phase of historical development.

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At the same time, this is only the first part of the route to real independence and liberation, which will have to be traveled by the peoples of the liberated countries. Moreover, in the struggle of the forces of socialism and democracy with the forces of imperialism and reaction, very much depends on the rate and forms of movement along this route and on the rate and forms of social progress of the former colonial and semicolonial countries. Life puts before the peoples of these countries the problem of strengthening the gained independence and of completely finding their role in world politics and in the common fate of mankind of overcoming backwardness and foiling attempts to block their movement along the roads of history, thrusting on them the pains of the capitalist phase of development (which simultaneously means as a rule a neocolonial yoke) and removing thereby the prospects of social liberation. This is not only an extraordinarily important, but also a complex, and in many respects, a unique and even unprecedented task.

The uniqueness is to be found first of all in internal conditions--in combination and interlinking of backwardness as such with major survivals of the colonial past, in the specific and far from formed character of the class structure and in the need of simultaneously solving problems which in most other countries were solved historically, consistently and in turn.

But the biggest uniqueness is to be found in the international situation. The development of the liberated countries is proceeding under the conditions of an active struggle of two world social systems, a struggle which cannot but help exert a profound influence on the dynamics of events in these countries, all the more so since imperialism is trying in every possible way to interfere in their internal affairs, acting as an antagonist to everything healthy and truly independent in this region of the world. At the same time, the contemporary stage, which mankind is living through, the achieved level of world economics, civilization and culture is being "superimposed" on the social development of these countries, changing and modifying it, in any case, significantly influencing it.

A principal historical advantage for the people's of the liberated countries in the solution of pressing social-economic and political problems exists in the existence of the world system of socialism. Without in any way disparaging the tremendous and in the final analysis the decisive significance of the liberation struggle of the peoples of former colonies and semicolonies, it must be emphasized that the existence of world socialism, its active support and its consistent international solidarity with these peoples give rise to the very possibility of breaking out of the fetters of colonialism and neocolonialism and rising to the heights of contemporary social and technical progress.

Basing ourselves on the experience of the 70's, it would be justifiable to assume the next decade will see a further exacerbation of the struggle around the fundamental problems of development of the liberated countries. We may also suppose--taking into consideration that independence was as a rule proclaimed 20-25 years ago and that many of these countries will attain

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a significant level of social development, that there have been formed class-antagonistic forces adequate to it, while the struggle around the social organization of the young countries achieved a broad scope--that the 80's for the liberated countries will be, keeping in mind the direction of their development, a definite advance. Countries of socialist orientation must have an answer to the urgent or growing question on the implementation of new deep political and social-economic changes, securing the selected path of development.

In regard to the other liberated countries, the question will obviously be resolved as to whether there will be foisted on them the capitalist stage of development (just as whether it will be, at least for some of these countries, the stage of national independent capitalism).

The peoples of the liberated countries will undoubtedly intensify the struggle against such a prospect and for their national and social freedom and for genuine social progress, meeting the criteria of the 20th century, an epoch of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. On their side, there will be as usual the sympathy, support and help of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries..

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NATIONAL

INOZEMTSEV ON VARGA CENTENNIAL, WORK OF IMEMO

Moscow VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK SSSR in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 100-107

[Article* by N. N. Inozemtsev, member of the academy: "The Creative Legacy of Ye. S. Varga, Member of the Academy, and the Tasks of International Affairs Specialists"]

[Text] One hundred years have passed since the birth of the outstanding scholar and revolutionary Yevgeniy Samuilovich Varga. We associate with his name an important stage in the development of the social sciences and the evolution of Marxist-Leninist research in our country on the problems of world economics and international relations.

Among those sitting in the hall there are comrades who knew Yevgeniy Samuilovich personally and who worked with him and under his direction. We carry his image in our memories--the image of a charming man, a great scholar, a great worker for science, a man whose thought was deep and original, a man who knew how to defend his point of view. He literally could not let a day pass without working, without being involved, without information. His prestige as a scientist was based on his thorough knowledge, his integrity and his devotion to principle.

Varga's personality as a scholar and as a man is inseparable from his public and political activity. Varga was distinguished by his deep communist fervor; his entire activity was imbued with the principles of party spirit and an implacable political and ideological struggle against the enemies of communism and the adversaries of Marxism-Leninism. This struggle was continuous throughout his entire life--from the period of his activity as a Social Democrat in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in Germany on the eve of World War I, from the historic epic of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in

* Address delivered by N. N. Inozemtsev, member of the academy and director of IMEMO [Institute of World Economics and International Relations] of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in a scientific session in Moscow devoted to the 100th anniversary of the birth of the outstanding scholar and figure in the international communist movement, Ye. S. Varga, member of the academy, which was held 1-2 November 1979.

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1919, to the studies in the sixties, which were written by a man who was already past 80. In his treatment of the most complex questions of theory Varga always was mindful of the interests of the working class and development of the right strategy and tactics of its struggle.

Varga was invariably with Lenin in all the discussions that took place while the founder of our party and state was alive, and he consistently defended Leninist positions after his death in the polemics with the Trotskyites, the right-wing opportunists and other ideological and political opponents.

Ten years ago, when we commemorated the 90th anniversary of Varga's birth, quite a bit was said about the lasting importance of many of his scientific works. Now we see the principal ones in the three-volume edition of the scholar's selected works. A team of staff members of IMEMO headed by V. Ya. Aboltin did a great deal of work on the publication of those books.

Ye. S. Varga's principal merits as a scientist are related to the fact that he was able to organically combine economic analysis with the study of the political conditions of the development of capitalism and socialism; he had an affinity for questions of philosophy and history. His early writings were devoted to money theory, and in them he developed creative Marxist views. He was the author of one of the first books in the Marxist literature devoted to economic policy in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Varga devoted much energy to studying state-monopoly capitalism. He made a large contribution to the study of economic crises and cycles. He was the first in our country to organize systematic observation of the economic situation of the capitalist countries and market conditions.

I would particularly like to say a few words about Varga's book "Problemy ekonomicheskoy politiki pri proletarskoy diktature" [The Problems of Economic Policy During the Dictatorship of the Proletariat], published in 1920, in which the author, who recently had been one of the leaders of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and its most important authority on economics, critically examines the experience of the republic and thoroughly analyzes certain reasons of its defeat. Varga dedicated his book "to the memory of the devoted and courageous and noble progressive fighters of the proletariat who fell victim to the White Terror after the downfall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic."* This book attracted the attention of V. I. Lenin, who alluded to it in his address at the Second Congress of the Comintern in connection with the question of farm policy in the context of a socialist revolution. Lenin pointed out the correctness and importance of the critical (and self-critical) remarks made by Varga, who felt that the Hungarian revolution made a serious error in not satisfying the aspirations of the

* Ye. S. Varga, "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya. Nachalo obshchego krizisa kapitalizma" [Selected Works. Commencement of the General Crisis of Capitalism], Moscow, 1974, p 113.

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small peasants by allotting to them a portion of the land confiscated from the large landowners. If this is not done, V. I. Lenin said, "the small peasant does not even detect the difference between what came before and the Soviet dictatorship. If the proletarian government does not conduct such a policy, it will not be able to survive."*

It is quite well known that the question of the land and the position of the small and middle peasantry has played and is still playing an enormous role in all the revolutions of our time. Ye. S. Varga, who after 1920 lived in the USSR, became a member of our party and worked energetically in the Comintern, was with full justification regarded as a major Marxist theoretician on the agrarian question. At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922 he presented the principal address on the agrarian question. Varga was a delegate to the fifth and sixth congresses and a participant in plenums of the Comintern Executive Committee, in which he repeatedly presented reports.

He had a profound and organic affinity for an idea of Lenin passed on to us by Klara Zetkin: "We must evaluate the world economy and world politics soberly, quite soberly, if we want to wage the struggle against the bourgeoisie and win."**

In his scientific writings, in his journalism, and in his practical activity in the Comintern Ye. S. Varga developed the ideas which were the basis of the proposition of the general crisis of capitalism as the historical stage of the struggle and existence of capitalism and socialism, of the age of the revolutionary downfall of the rule of the bourgeoisie on a world scale.

In the period of the partial stabilization of capitalism in the twenties Varga had to carry on a struggle on two fronts. On the one hand against bourgeois, reformist and revisionist views to the effect that capitalism had completely overcome the difficulties of wartime in the postwar crisis and possessed unlimited capabilities for progressive development. On the other--against left-wing doctrinairism, which asserted that capitalism was altogether deprived of the capability for economic growth and was condemned to uninterrupted "vegetation" in a quagmire of crisis. The two views were equally harmful to the communist and worker movement and led to demoralization and demobilization of the anti-imperialist forces. In combating them Varga defended the correct Marxist-Leninist view of 20th-century capitalism's patterns of development.

Communists see the weak sides of imperialism and take into account its contradictions, which are becoming increasingly deep and acute. At the same

* V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 41, p 252.

** "O Lenine. Vospominaniya zarubezhnykh sovremennikov" [About Lenin. Memoirs of Foreign Contemporaries], Moscow, 1962, p 33.

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time they do not strive to represent what they wish as what is real, they see the possibilities for development which world capitalism still possesses, and they analyze the factors making it viable. They do this on behalf of a successful struggle for the triumph of socialism, which has the logic and dialectics of history on its side. This position has been thoroughly and creatively developed in the materials and practical activity of our party, in the report addresses of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 23d, 24th and 25th party congresses, and in the documents of the international communist movement in recent decades.

Ye. S. Varga did a great deal to develop the Marxist theory of crises relevant to the context of contemporary conditions. Relying on that theory, on Marx' method, on a thorough analysis of multifarious real events, Varga predicted the occurrence of the profound world economic crisis which did actually occur in 1929. In the period of the 1929-1933 crisis he devoted his attention not only to the general trends in the world capitalist economy, but also to the peculiarities of the crisis in individual countries and regions, to a detailed study of conjuncture and to the situation on various commodity markets.

In a number of his writings in the thirties and during World War II Varga thoroughly analyzed the enlargement of the role of the state in the capitalist economic system. He demonstrated both the possibilities that state-monopoly capitalism could have an effect on the cycle and other aspects of production, and also the inherently limited and contradictory nature of that influence.

In the first postwar years Varga was initiator of the study of the profound technical and economic shifts taking place in the economically advanced capitalist countries, and in the period that followed he paid a great deal of attention to analyzing the scientific-technical revolution taking place in the contemporary world. The study of these problems has paramount practical importance from the standpoint of our economy's development and building the material and technical base of communism.

Varga's 1965 book "Ocherki po problemam politekonomii kapitalizma" [Essays on the Problems of the Political Economy of Capitalism] drew a great deal of attention in our country and abroad. In it he raises and examines the basic issues of contemporary capitalism, the role of the state and state-monopoly capitalism, new forms of interimperialist contradictions, the role of the bourgeoisie in the national liberation movement, the status and social consciousness of the working class, pricing and profit in the context of dominance by the monopolies, cycles and crises, West European integration and a number of others. Varga's scientific learning and purview were truly vast.

Varga struggled throughout his entire life against dogmatism and superficiality. He was fond of repeating V. I. Lenin's famous proposition to the

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effect that Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action, and he followed that principle throughout all his activity. Thoroughly versed in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, he never engaged in mindless quotations and the mechanical application of detached passages to altered historical conditions. The main thing for him was always the revolutionary dialectical method of Marxism, and its soul and life were the analysis of the concrete situation. He responded with anger in sarcasm to biased conclusions in a scientific study, to an artificial selection of facts and figures, and to any attempt to embellish and falsify them.

In the foreword to his last book Varga wrote that he deliberately chose the debatable problems of Marxism, that he wished in any case to offer readers food for reflection, criticism and discussion. He showed party devotion to principle and the requisite asperity in opposing those who "replace the Marxist method of research with ready-made conclusions to which Marx came under particular historical conditions as the result of his own research." From there, he writes, "it is only a step to fitting the facts to the various conclusions of Marxism; to ignoring new facts that do not fit into the scheme instead of subjecting them to analysis, studying the new facts that do not fit the pattern, and analyzing the new phenomena typical of contemporary capitalism."*

Varga was distinguished by a high degree of modesty. He never looked upon his views as truth in the last instance, he was always ready to examine the criticism of his comrades and he honored this criticism if he found it convincing. He loved scientific discussions, he willingly took part in them, and he was himself the organizer of many discussions.

Supervision of teams of scientists and the rearing up of younger social scientists occupied a most important place in Varga's highly varied activity. He was a very important organizer of Soviet science, for 2 decades he headed the Institute of World Economics and World Politics, which was formed in 1927. A staff of scientists that distinguished itself with its high degree of militance and productivity was created with his most active participation. Varga knew how to stimulate initiative and scientific boldness, he willingly shared his abundant experience, and at the same time he was highly exacting and saw that assignments were unconditionally completed on time and met a high standard.

The Institute of Red Professorship of the World Economy and World Politics, directed in the thirties by Varga, played an important role in the training of scientists. For a number of years Varga was member secretary of the Economics Department and a member of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In this work as well he showed his comprehensive education, the breadth of his views, and his ability to penetrate questions which were sometimes far from his specialty.

* Ye. S. Varga, "Ocherki po problemam politekonomii kapitalizma," Moscow, 1965, p 3.

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Varga's colleagues and students made up the backbone of the staff of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was created in 1956. They in turn raised up succeeding generations of scientists who are now working effectively in our institute and in other scientific institutions, above all in the group of the academy's institutes concerned with international affairs: the Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System, the Institute of the International Worker Movement, the Institute of the United States and Canada, the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Latin America Institute, and the African Institute.

The new historical situation, the abrupt change in the balance of power in the world arena to the advantage of socialism, the upsurge of the international communist, worker, and national liberation movements, and new phenomena and processes in the economics, politics and ideology of contemporary capitalism have, of course, faced researchers in the field of international affairs with large and complicated problems. The Soviet scholars in the fields of international affairs have a high duty to the party to be equal to those problems.

In recent decades we have come to have many more highly qualified economists, sociologists, specialists in the political sciences, historians and philosophers concerned with the problems of world economics and politics, international relations and the world revolutionary movement. This is all evidence of the tremendous concern of our party's Central Committee, the Soviet government, and the leadership of the Academy of Sciences concerning the country's requisite development of scientific research in international studies.

I will dwell in a bit more detail on the work of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations.

Recently the institute has been publishing between 30 and 40 jointly and individually authored monographs annually on a broad range of problems, has been publishing a monthly journal which has won a good name for itself both at home and abroad, several supplements to the journal, an international yearbook on economics and politics in Russian and--jointly with colleagues from the GDR--in German, and a special bulletin. Many of the institute's publications have been translated and are being translated into foreign languages and published in other countries. The institute's staff members do a great deal of lecturing and work in the field of popular education.

The institute organizes numerous international conferences and meetings, and it has widespread relations with scientists of the socialist, capitalist and developing countries. For example, this May an international conference of Marxists was held to treat the problems of the scientific-technical revolution and its socioeconomic consequences in the capitalist context.

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Pursuing the comprehensive approach to the most important processes and phenomena of world development, the institute has paid and now pays its principal attention to preparing basic works which have fundamental scientific importance. Central place among works of this kind which have been completed in recent years is occupied by "Politicheskaya ekonomika sovremennogo monopolisticheskogo kapitalizma" [The Political Economy of Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism], which was awarded the USSR State Prize. High praise from the Soviet and foreign scientific community has been paid to a series of books: "Mirovoye kapitalisticheskoye khozyaystvo i mezhdunarodnyye ekonomicheskiye otnosheniya" [The World Capitalist Economy and International Economic Relations], "Ekonomika i politika stran sovremennogo kapitalizma" [The Economics and Politics of the Contemporary Capitalist Countries], "Ekonomika i politika razvivayushchikhsya stran" [The Economics and Politics of the Developing Countries], by the jointly authored works: "Leninskaya teoriya imperializma i sovremennost'" [Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and the Contemporary Scene], "Uglubleniye obshchego krizisa kapitalizma" [The Deepening of the General Crisis of Capitalism], "Kritika sovremennoy burzhuaiznoy politekonomii" [Criticism of Contemporary Bourgeois Political Economy], "Materializatsiya razryadki: ekonomicheskiye aspekty" [Materialization of Detente: Economic Aspects], "Zapadnaya Yevropa v sovremennom mire" [Western Europe in the Contemporary World], and a number of others.

The institute's important theoretical work is directly bound up with the practice of the country's economic and foreign political life. To be specific, the institute prepared and is regularly updating the forecast of the economic development of the capitalist and developing countries up to the year 2000, and it prepared two volumes of the "Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress and Its Socioeconomic Consequences Over the Period up to the Year 2000." A number of fruitful situation analyses have been made concerning the most acute and urgent economic and political questions.

But life does not stand still. The processes taking place in the world economy, in international economic and political relations, in the worker and national liberation movements, and in ideology require that unremitting attention be paid to them and pose for IMEMO and other institutes of international studies the tasks of not only generalizing the new phenomena in theoretical terms, but also of preparing a number of practical recommendations. The analysis of precisely these new phenomena and processes is in fact the focus of the commemorative session of the academic council of IMEMO, which is devoted to the 100th anniversary of the birth of Varga, who was a member of the academy. This task is all the more urgent because we now stand on the threshold of completing our work to fulfill the 10th Five-Year Plan and the drafting of the research plan for the new, 11th Five-Year Plan.

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I would like to voice several reflections in this connection. There is no doubt that as the principal institute for international studies IMEMO must in the future continue to pay its principal attention to work on the theoretical problems of the political economy of capitalism and to the study of the broadest range of both economic relations and also class, social and political relations in their inseparable association with one another and the effects and responses taking place between them. And, of course, from the standpoint of the analysis of new phenomena and unfailingly taking into account the concrete historical peculiarities which in large degree are predetermining the development of contemporary capitalism. These peculiarities are quite well known.

They include the basic changes in the balance of power between the two opposing systems, the new strategic situation in which capitalism, waging its fight against world socialism, must at the same time coexist peacefully and even collaborate with it on a number of questions.

They include capitalism's loss of many of its former hinterlands because of the disintegration of the colonial system and the gradually accumulating shifts in relations between the advanced and developing countries in the system of the world capitalist economy.

They include the scientific-technical revolution, which is continuing in the contemporary world and which is having a profound effect on the world economy and world economic relations, on various aspects of the economic life of the capitalist and developing countries, and also on the social processes taking place in them.

They include the growing importance of global problems: energy, raw materials, food, population, ecology, the problem of overcoming the backwardness of the developing countries, and so on. There is no question that various kinds of structural crises, which became an important distinguishing feature of capitalism in the seventies, will be manifested with still greater force in the next decade.

And they include the inevitable further exacerbation of the basic internal contradictions of capitalism and also the interimperialist contradictions under the new conditions.

It follows from what we have said that the continued study of the problems of state-monopoly capitalism, and of its effect on the economy, on the cyclical nature of reproduction, on the development of inflationary processes, and on international economic relations has paramount importance. We cannot lessen our attention to the study of new forms and peculiarities of the state monopoly capitalism of various countries, and we must at the same time intensify our study of the supranational forms of state-monopoly capitalism, which have especially manifested themselves in the further development of economic integration.

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I would like to emphasize that theoretical research on the basic patterns of capitalism's development, as in the past, should continue in the future to be closely allied to thorough analysis of current and anticipated shifts in its scientific-technical base, along with comprehensive identification of the principal structural changes in capitalism's economic system and a painstaking notation of the most important factors determining changes in the labor productivity, capital intensiveness and materials intensiveness of capitalist production. This is all the more important because this work is being combined with the work the Academy of Sciences has been commissioned to do on the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress and Its Long-Range Socioeconomic Consequences, which is taking on permanence and is becoming an important part of national economic planning in our country.

The institute has further and more thorough work to do on the key problems of international relations. It must be said with all frankness that we have by no means done everything toward vivid and convincing demonstration of the enormous shifts which are taking place in this most important sphere of public life under the impact of world socialism, nor at the same time toward full exposure of the effect of the most militaristic and aggressive forces of imperialism which oppose detente and are striving to return the world to the time of the Cold War and are initiating new spirals in the arms race.

A thorough theoretical analysis is needed into the character of international relations in the context of the transitional era (I am thinking of the era from the victory of the October Revolution to the triumph of socialism on a world scale), into the principal issues of international politics and the different courses of policy colliding in that domain, and into the changing structure of world political relations. It is becoming tremendously important to study real strategies in the continuing struggle to strengthen international security and to halt the arms race, to deepen the processes of detente and to develop relations of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation of states with different social systems.

The institute has been engaged and will continue its active engagement in the study of the problems of the Soviet Union's economic relations with the capitalist and developing countries and possible ways of making those relations more effective. This heightens sharply the theoretical and practical importance of the study of the problems of international economic relations, new phenomena in the activity of the international monopolies, in trade policy, in the sphere of monetary and financial relations, and so on.

We will continue to center our attention in the future on the problems of the class struggle and of the present stage of the revolutionary process in the advanced capitalist countries and the developing countries.

The experience of the seventies confirmed in utterly convincing fashion how tremendously important to the communist and worker movement of the capitalist countries are the questions of the development of its relations with

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other peoples and its solidarity with other currents in the revolutionary process; the problems of the unity of the left-wing forces--communists, social democrats, and other democratic forces; the problems of the relation between the general and the particular in the process of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, and the problems of the interrelationship of the struggle for peace with the struggle for social progress.

Further analysis of the concrete content of the worker and democratic alternatives to state-monopoly capitalism in the sphere of economic and social policy, the political organization of society and the course of foreign policy is especially important in the context of these problems. The development of such an alternative, which represents an indispensable step in the process of revolutionary transformations, is today one of the principal issues in the strategy and tactics of the communist parties of the capitalist countries and their struggle to shape strong antimonopolistic alliances, and it is a matter of the institute's honor to make the contribution to the drafting of that alternative of which it is capable.

There is a need for thorough research on the evolutionary processes of the forms of capitalist exploitation, the political institutions of capitalist society and its system of mass ideological pressure. Particular attention should be paid to the course and results of the political-ideological struggle in the principal capitalist countries and to new tendencies in the sociopolitical consciousness of the workers.

One of the institute's important tasks is to furnish a thorough analysis of the new situation in the developing countries; after all, this is a part of the world which in 2 decades will have more than two-thirds of the planet's population. The diversity and differentiation which have become obvious within this enormous group of states indicates that the time has passed when one could study the developing countries "generally" and as a whole. Different and more complicated problems are now arising. It is a question of choosing a path of development for various countries and groups of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the eighties, of the pattern whereby national liberation revolutions become social revolutions, and of the prospects for the noncapitalist line of development.

The questions of the USSR's economic cooperation and foreign-political cooperation with the developing countries, their role in the system of international relations and resistance to attempts to export counterrevolution to these countries have, of course, the greatest importance.

Finally, another important future line of our work is critical analysis of bourgeois and other non-Marxist conceptions. Exacerbation of the ideological struggle, the tasks the party has set for our foreign political propaganda demand that the institute's staff prepare projects specifically devoted to criticism of the most influential lines of bourgeois ideology. It is specifically important to offer a thorough analysis and criticism of bourgeois theories of state-monopoly capitalism and the reflection of those

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theories in government and party programs. We are confronted by the ongoing task of the struggle against the ideology of anti-Marxism and anticommunism.

In conclusion allow me to recall the words of V. I. Lenin to the effect that the best way for communists to celebrate an anniversary is to concentrate attention on unsolved problems. I think this is a particularly suitable occasion on which to do that, as we commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Varga, a scientist and communist who was never satisfied with what he had achieved and who was always looking ahead and always turning again and again to new problems.

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